

STATINTL

usually the case when I rise to address the Senate—I hope I can do a little to revive the tradition of debate which down through the years has made our legislative body an institution of which I hope the American people are still proud.

Before addressing myself to the substance of the disagreement between the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. Fulbright] and the three other Senators whom I have mentioned, I should like to make four preliminary remarks.

First, nobody—I repeat nobody—least of all the Senator from Arkansas—has attacked the President of the United States for what he did in the Dominican crisis. The position of the Senator from Arkansas, with which I agree, is that the President got bad advice—very bad advice. But having received that advice from individuals in his administration whom he had good reason to trust, particularly advice with respect to facts which turned out to be wrong, the President had no alternative except to do pretty much what he did. Therefore, I would make it clear that neither the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. Fulbright] nor I, despite what the three Senators have said to the contrary, have said one single word in criticism of the President.

My second point is that what may or may not have happened when the President called certain legislative leaders to the White House to discuss the crisis in the Dominican Republic, after he had decided to send the Marines in, but before they had actually gone, is entirely irrelevant to the points raised by the Senator from Arkansas. The Senator from Arkansas has no responsibility whatever for the decision made at the White House. He was in no position at that point to disagree with what the President recommended, because his sources of information were no different from those of the President. I believe it grossly unfair for the Senator from Florida [Mr. Smathers] and the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. Long] to criticize the Senator from Arkansas for having remained silent at the White House after the President announced he was going to send in the troops.

In fact, the Senator from Arkansas said in his speech that he agrees that it was probably necessary to send a small force of Marines into Santo Domingo to protect American lives, particularly in view of the intelligence information, much of it inaccurate, which had come to the White House at that time. I agree with that, too. I believe we were under an obligation, despite our treaty obligations to the contrary, to send in a small force to protect American lives.

Incidentally, it is interesting to note that no American lives were lost. Despite the gross exaggeration with respect to the alleged danger under which Americans and other foreigners found themselves in Santo Domingo in those critical days toward the end of April, not one single American life was lost.

So I reiterate that, in my opinion, the Senator from Arkansas is subject to no just criticism because he did not object when the President, at the White House, announced that he had decided to send in the Marines. This argument is espe-

cially irrelevant to any issue raised by the Senator from Arkansas in his carefully thought-through and closely reasoned speech. I hope we shall hear no more in criticism of the Senator from Arkansas for what he did or did not do at the White House conference.

My third preliminary comment is that the Senator from Arkansas based his speech on 6 weeks of testimony in executive session before the Committee on Foreign Relations, at which practically every witness from the administration who participated in the Dominican crisis, with three exceptions, was heard and examined at some length by members of the committee. The speech was based also on newspaper articles, weekly news magazine articles, and other information from reputable American journalists, information which was available to the Committee on Foreign Relations as well as to the three Senators I have mentioned.

I sat through those hearings. I either heard the testimony—and I usually did hear the testimony and the cross-examination—of each of the witnesses, or, if I could not be present, I went to the committee room later and read the testimony, including the cross-examination. I can testify from my own personal knowledge that the comments of the Senator from Arkansas are fully and accurately documented by the classified record in the files of the Committee on Foreign Relations. If any Senator doubts what I say, I urge him or her to read that record.

I do not know whether the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. Dodd], the Senator from Florida [Mr. Smathers], or the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. Long] have read that record. Perhaps they will tell us in due course. However, I do know that, with the possible exception of a total of approximately one-half hour, when one of those Senators may have been present at one of those hearings, they did not show up at all. Therefore, their criticism of what the Senator from Arkansas has said is not based on any knowledge of that record in the Committee on Foreign Relations.

This is not necessarily a cause for serious criticism. No doubt the Senators have other sources of information than those which were available to me and to the Senator from Arkansas and to the members of the committee. They are certainly entitled to come in on the floor of the Senate and say whatever they think about it.

The point I want to make is that every single statement of the Senator from Arkansas is carefully documented in the official record of the hearings over which he presided. I raise several questions as to whether these other three Senators can document what they have said.

The fourth preliminary point that I should like to make is that the real issue with respect to the Dominican Republic is not: "Did we do the right thing or did we not do the right thing? Did we, as the Senator from Arkansas says, react too slowly in the first place and then overreact in the second place? Were our activities on the whole in the best

#### DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, I rise in defense of the position taken with respect to the actions of the United States in the Dominican Republic by the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations [Mr. Fulbright].

To my deep regret, this puts me in opposition to my good friends the Senator from Florida [Mr. Smathers], the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. Long], and the Senator from Connecticut [Mr. Dodd].

I had occasion to call to the attention of Senators earlier this week a most interesting article which appeared in the Sunday magazine section of the New York Times, written by the able and veteran reporter, Tom Wicker, the principal Capitol Hill reporter for the New York Times, entitled "Winds of Change in the Senate."

In his article Mr. Wicker commented, and I think with reason, that the art of debate appears to have been more or less lost in this body to which I am so proud to belong.

Possibly even by speaking to a completely empty Chamber on a Friday afternoon—which I regret to state is